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ANTONÍN VAŠEK

ON LANGUAGE ACCULTURATION IN AMERICAN CZECHS

1. Czech emigration to America is a relatively old phenomenon. The first Czechs came to America during the Thirty Years' War at the same time as the Dutchmen, who founded New Amsterdam, later called New York. The first known Czech immigrant to America was Augustin Heřman (1633), who apparently was a religious refugee following the Battle of the White Mountain (1620). He is known to have had Czech contemporaries in America, such as Bedřich Filip, but the later rate of Czech immigration to America is not known until the time of the founding of the town of Bethlehem in Pennsylvania by the Moravian Brethern in the first half of the 18th century. In addition to the Moravians settled in Pennsylvania, there were other Czechs, Moravians and Silesians in North America in those times, as is shown by the membership lists of the church, which itself was originally the church of the Bohemian Brethern; these membership lists contained many names of purely Czech or Germanized character. (*Register of Members of the Moravian Church, and of persons attached to said Church in this country and abroad, between 1727–54.*) Gradually other Czech settlers came, but the main wave of immigration was not until after 1848.

According to the *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1905*, 38–41, there were 156,891 Czechs in the USA in 1900. They had settled particularly in the states of Illinois (38,570), New York (16,347), Nebraska (16,138), Ohio (15,131), Wisconsin (14,145), Minnesota (11,147), Iowa (10,809) and Texas (9,204).

After J. Rosicky's *Jak je v Americe* (How is life in America) there were nearly half a million Czechs in the US in 1906: a) the number of immigrants with Czech fathers, i.e. not just the first immigrant generation, was 353,614; b) the number with a Czech mother but American father (often a Czech American) was 10,774, and finally c) the number with a Czech mother but a father of an-

other nationality was 12,579, that is a total of 376,967 persons. Thus, Czech nationality was assigned to those people of whom at least one parent was Czech. Many through ignorance or lack of national feeling had themselves registered as Austrians; some of the Czechs in Texas were assigned Austrian nationality because they stated that they were Moravians (cf. Čapek 1907). In addition new Czechs immigrated or were born between 1900 and 1906.¹

In the present century numbers of Czechs in the US appear to have dwindled²: in 1960 there were 91,711 persons of the first immigrant generation, 92,000 of the second, 34,000 of the third, that is 217,711 persons in total. However, a census, whether in the USA or elsewhere, in America taken every ten years since 1790, does not always reflect the true situation. Because in many cases nationality is a matter of personal inclination, the demographic data relating to, e.g. origin, need not be reliable. The only data that are definitely correct are those relating to first generation Czech immigrants and usually (though not always) to the second generation; namely in cases where both parents are first generation Czechs. In other cases the national designation is not always clear. For instance, where a first generation immigrant Czech male marries a German female of the first immigrant generation, there is about a one in three chance of the child being recorded as Czech, the other possibilities being German or American. However, when the child is born of a Czech mother but the father is an English-speaking male (English, Irish, Scots or Welsh in origin), the scales are tipped in favour of the latter category. This is especially clear in the case of marriages between American males and Czech females; cf. the figures from the 1960 census mentioned above: Czech father 353,614 persons, Czech mother 10,774 persons or (when father is neither Czech nor American) 12,579 persons. (This is also true of other ethnic and/or linguistic minorities, not only in the American situation.)

An unprejudiced view of this situation, *sine ira et studio*, indicates that as regards the linguistic identity of the child, there is no major difference between the cases where the father is Czech or the mother is Czech; and if there is any difference, it is expressed if anything the other way round – the linguistic influence of the mother is usually stronger than that of the father. If children of such marriages are mainly described as Americans in the census, then this is a distorted view of the general pattern of development of Czech settlement in the USA (the ratio of 353,614 to 10,774 or 12,579 persons stated above is, I suppose, indicative). At the same time, as practice would seem to show, both sides, Czechs and Americans, tend to exaggerate somewhat, each maximising his/her own share in the national identity of the child, may it even be for different reasons. In fact such cases involve Czech Americans who for the most part consider themselves American, preserve certain features of European culture, lin-

¹ Cf. Čapek (1907) 2.

² Cf. Fishman et al. (1966): 34–50.

guistically are more or less biligual Czech/American or American/Czech, and have a nostalgic relationship of varying strength to the old home of their ancestors across the ocean.

2. Socially speaking, the Czech immigrants in the USA belonged to a truly broad spectrum: some of them were from leading Czech families (houses), A. Heřman *inter alia*, some of them members of the middle classes, especially various intellectuals, and some of them also all manner of artisans, cottagers and rural and urban (factory) manual workers. After their arrival in new living conditions, all of them began to water down their own culture and with different intensity adapt it to their new situation. It is clear that the principle, or one of the principle elements of their culture, their language, was also involved in this process.

3. As soon as a settler arrives in a new environment, his speech begins to develop independently of his base language, from which he is now geographically separated (in this case from European Czech). The base language becomes what we may call an isolated language. This process actually begins from the very first moment that an immigrant speaks with a member of the new culture. Isolated languages do not exist in some sort of desert or uninhabited island, at least this has not been the case in recent centuries. On the contrary, such languages exist in variously close relationships with other languages – which are at times also isolated in the respective country – sometimes with one, sometimes with several.

For instance, in the Banat region of south–western Romania there is a Czech–speaking ethnic minority originating from the south–east of Moravia. Territorially, isolated Czech co–exists there with the local Standard Romanian language (the language of official communication) and with Romanian dialects. In addition, the local isolated Czech is in frequent contact with territorially co–existing isolated German, Hungarian, and, to a lesser extent, Serbo–Croatian and Slovak. Furthermore local Czech also co–exists – via the mass media and literature, and to a limited extent , via the language of worship and everyday personal contact with the standard forms of the languages mentioned above. This is particularly the case with Standard Serbo–Croatian, whose homeland is geographically close, and with Standard Hungarian, which was the language of official communication in the Banat region until the end of the First World War.

However, the situation of isolated Czech in the USA is quite different. On the one hand, it is evident from the history of the formation of the American nation from many nationalities (compare the motto *E pluribus unum* and the metaphor *melting pot*) that contact took place easily between peoples of so many different origins. Therefore, the conditions existed for more intense contact between a greater number of languages in the USA than in the Romanian case.

On the other hand, there was not a similar situation there in a rural context to that in the Banat, where four or five languages co–exist. In the USA, daily contacts between American Czech and local American English occur whenever

Czech-speaking Czech Americans meet American English speakers. These contacts are established via standard and substandard American English. There are also contacts between local American Czech and several other isolated European languages in the USA. Contact between American Czech and Amerindian or Black English seldom occurs in the USA, since the latter languages are not intelligible to American Czechs, just as American Czech is not normally intelligible to the speakers of those languages. (On the contrary one may expect at least potential influence from the specialities of Indian and Negro English on isolated Czech in the USA.³)

Contacts with languages other than American English occur only rarely in the USA, and they are becoming less and less frequent (with the possible exception of the continuing influx of "Hispanics" from the south). This is due to the fact that the main waves of immigration of Czech colonials into the USA came only in the half of the nineteenth century, at a time when English had long been the official language of the USA, and the *lingua franca* of the whole of North America, and was gradually becoming the national language in the USA and Canada. Moreover, even at that time Czech immigrants into the US arrived in a land which was still largely unpopulated in the rural areas. The plots of land (homesteads – or, in American Czech, *houmstedy*) which the government assigned to new settlers for cultivation (especially in the corn belt between the Appalachians and the Rockies) were comparatively large (160 acres) so that the homes of their owners together with their farm-buildings were isolated units.⁴ If Czech immigrants sought contact with anybody in the new country, they tended to contact in the first place their relatives and fellow-countrymen. When communicating with people of another nationality – and with any stranger – they probably used the all-society means of communication – American English – as much as their language ability permitted.

Many Czech immigrants arrived in the USA through New York; some of them stayed, while others left for Chicago and other cities, or for the countryside. In cities Czech settlers lived from the very beginning in ethnically considerably heterogeneous environments, which in theory might have led to very rich interlingual contacts. In fact, however, they lived there, just as in the countryside, in relatively close communities for ethnic and security reasons. When communicating with speakers of non-Czech origin and strangers in general, they mainly used American English, at first usually broken English. And yet in the cities American Czech seems to have been in closer contact with American English than in the countryside; contact with other North American languages was less intense than with American English also in cities.

³ Cf. *Sociolinguistics Newsletter* (1973) IV: 17on. Boulder, Colorado, USA.

⁴ See the *Homestead Act*, 1862: a law passed by Congress promising ownership of a 160-acre tract of public land to a head of a family after he had cleared and improved the land and lived on it for five years.

4. It follows from this that not even territorial linguistic co-existence that is in the case of an isolated language very frequent and quite typical of the languages of national minorities itself means actual interlingual contacts (though it provides the best opportunity for them, cf. Vašek 1971⁵). Only when the listener/addressee as a target of speech (in the present case, Czech immigrant in the USA) starts to understand the content of a message in a foreign language, and is thus at least passively bilingual enough, is there interlingual contact. Consequently, only then a linguistic conflict arises and the languages in contact begin to affect each other: in this case American English influencing isolated Czech. This means that the Czech settler in the USA need not have come into contact with the languages of the new environment immediately on entry to the USA, unless of course he/she had some previous knowledge of these languages or languages close to them, ones he/she could understand well on his/her arrival there. The time taken for Czech in the USA to come into contact with other languages varied and still varies from one individual to another, and in some cases it may even be very long.

For instance, my sociolinguistically oriented direct fieldwork in North Dakota, which I undertook with an adaptation of G.G. Gilbert's sentence questionnaire for investigating Texan German, in which Czech immigrants translated Angloamerican sentences into their isolated Czech language, was in this case very telling. The completely insufficient knowledge of American English of an approximately 85-year old country woman from the second (!) immigrant generation made the research impossible; it happened although this woman as a small girl had received (modest) basic school education in American English. While her case is neither common nor typical, it is nevertheless indicative of how slowly English may be acquired, even in the second immigrant generation. Judging by Central European standards, her Czech had some gaps and was richly interlaced with anglo-americanisms, particularly lexical ones (*[ka:ra]* "car", *[korna]* "maize", *[ko:lovat]* "to telephone", etc.). Czech was still her first language, her mother tongue. She took her American borrowings for Czech expressions (even as if they were Czech in origin). Of course, different and even opposite cases also exist. At the other extreme, one can find American Czechs who have a poor knowledge of their mother tongue even among members of the first immigrant generation.

5. Each language contact leads to a language conflict which is its immediate result and consequence. You could even say that the triad of language communication, language contact and language conflict creates a single concept, which can be viewed from three possible angles.⁶ The magnitude of language conflict is proportional to typological difference between the language structures in contact. Language conflicts are resolved a) by mutual influence of the participating language structures with potential assimilation consequences, and b) by the effort of each of the participating structures to survive, to be maintained, by their language maintenance. In the contacting language formations, each of the two solutions (or, rather, of the two components of the solution) of a conflict arising from a contact of two language structures seems to behave (cf. also

⁵ Cf. Vašek (1971) and Vašek (1995).

⁶ Cf. Vašek (1995).

Fishman⁷) as a mirror image of its counterpart, i.e. conversely. In other words, if the left arm of a person P (i.e. of Structure 1, here Am. Czech) represents the defensive force against alien assimilation influence and his/her right arm the offensive force, then the person P1 (i.e. Structure 2, here Am. English) as a mirror image of the person P, represents against the defensive left of the person P his/her offensive right and against the offensive right of the person P shows his/her defensive left. The reality is, however, more complicated than Fishman describes it and the two are not simple mirror images. If the assimilation influence of Structure 2 (e.g. American English) is represented by language elements which do not compete with parallel (isofunctional) elements of Structure 1 (e.g. isolated Czech), then no language maintenance is enforced against it from Structure 1: this penetrating element is rightly considered a welcomed enrichment of expressive abilities of the language being assimilated. (The situation is different if the penetrating element is a competing one, i.e. in the process of language interference⁸. In this case, of course, the maintenance takes place.⁹)

6. The process of losing ethnic and cultural character is particularly obvious among minority immigrants. In the case of a minority isolated language (e.g. Am.Czech), the left arm of the person P with its defensive function is predominant: the offensive of the alien forces (assimilation) and its own defence, i.e. language maintenance. Although the American Czech may even be the majority language in a particular US region, its influence on American English is definitely very slight. (They nevertheless exist: it was not only Čapek's *robot* that has entered general English vocabulary, but in American English also *kolacky* "small cakes", *kolache shop* "a shop selling pastries, particularly small cakes", or *Kolaches Day* "a folk festival held, for example, in Wilson, Kansas, with Czech brass bands and traditional Czech folk costumes when Czech cakes, especially Czech wedding cakes, are also served", and some others.)

The situation is of course different when the isolated language is simultaneously the official language of the country (cf. Russian in non-Russian parts of the former USSR, Hindi in the south of India, the Chinese language in Chinese Mongolia, etc.). In these cases it also has the offensive force, its assimilating influence.

While the retreat of the non-omnifunctional minority isolated language cannot be halted, the rate of the process, however, depends to a large extent on a cultural policy of the country in question.

7. At the beginning of its existence in the new living conditions, every isolated language, including American Czech, reflects the given social as well as territorial provenance of its speakers, and so it can be even considerably hetero-

⁷ Cf. Fishman et al. (1966).

⁸ Linguistic interference can be defined as an ad hoc usage of a competing foreign language element, cf. Vašek (1988b): 22.

⁹ Cf. Vašek (1989, 1988a). There can be found an explanation of the difference between the maintenance in appellatives and in proper names within the sphere of anthroponyms.

geneous. This fact is then important for the further development of the respective isolated idiom. In contradistinction to the base language, standard language does not represent here the crystallizing structural formation which for its exclusive station attracts and slowly assimilates its structural substandard formations in the course of development of the given national language. It is true, each of them being isolated does not develop independently of others, but all of them mutually affect each other rather like closely related languages; the direction of their development is determined by other factors than the literary language character of one of them. To tell the truth, each case is *sui generis*, but the said principle holds (at least it follows from my European and American research). At the territorial co-existence of more than two tautolingual idioms, there are in principle always relationships and contacts of a binary character. At the same time, the settlers consider their isolated language to be a non-codified, but obligatory norm that should be held and preserved. The individual language formations in contact are becoming somehow unified, coming together and take over from each other. The unifying factor here is represented by the language idiom communicatively dominant in the given surroundings, in the present case by American English. They take then mutually over from each other not only competing language phenomena, mostly components and heritage of the old, original culture (and thus in the given contact idioms domestic ones), but also designations of objects and phenomena of the new culture, in these idioms taken over predominantly from the local communicatively dominant language, in this case from American English. However, not even the borrowing of new elements from American English is of a uniform nature, especially when they are not elements of Standard American English¹⁰

8. Isolated American Czech produces in an all-country extent exclusively the traces of the language of official communication and the local dominant language – American English.

Terminological note:

L = base language at the time of separation of an isolated language

L₁ = present-day condition of a base language

L₂ = present-day condition of an isolated language

L —————→ L₁ = development of a base language

L —————→ L₂ = development of an isolated language

Cf. Vašek (1976): 92–93.

Note 2: Only on the basis of a detailed study will it be possible to explain properly the process of the transformation of L into L₂, touched on here. Only in such a way, shall we be able to get from the mere, mostly static presentation of the current result of the development of the isolated

¹⁰ It is only the structure of Standard American English and the conflict initiated by the contact with it that are uniform to some degree. The potential consequence of that contact and conflict can of course be in individual cases of taking over considerably different. Whether the conflict and mutual influence materialize or not, and if it does what will be their result, that is always decided by the whole complex of the three kinds of developmental factors, namely extralingual, intralingual and interlingual ones. (Cf. Vašek 1980).

language and to reveal the dynamism of its formal development and of the functional changes of the investigated phenomena. E.g., to explain three developmental stages of the sound *r*: stage (i) [*rak*], cf. Standard Czech *rak* m. [*rak*] “crayfish”// [*gri:s*], loan word from American English, “Greece”; stage (ii) [*rak*] vs. [*gʲi:s*]; stage (iii) [*ɹak*]// [*gʲi:s*] (an alveolar trill [r] has gradually been replaced by its parallel non-rolled sound, often by voiced retroflex approximant [ɹ]).

Some of the specific features of isolated American Czech:

8.1. Phonetics and Phonemics

- (1) Gradual retreat and extinction of the trill [r] just described;
- (2) Surrendering of the phonemically relevant quantitative correlation of sounds (mostly realized through the loss of the vowel length):

American Czech
[*mame ho: ɹaʝi*]

“We like him”

[*pavel mu ɹaʝi*]

“Paul is advising him”

Standard Czech

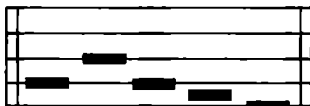
[*ma:me ho ra:ʝi*]

Máme ho rádi

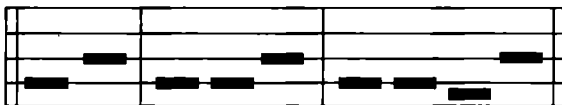
[*pavel mu raʝi:*]

Pavel mu radí

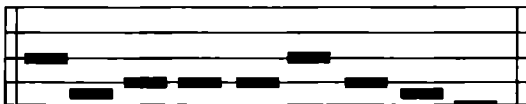
- (3) Adoption of the American English word stress and sentence intonation:



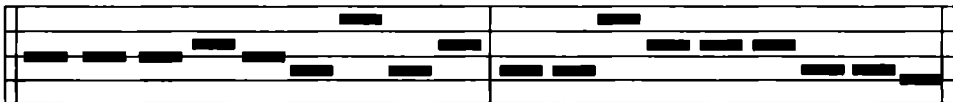
(StCz) [gde pratsujete]? Kde pracujete? “Where are you occupied?”



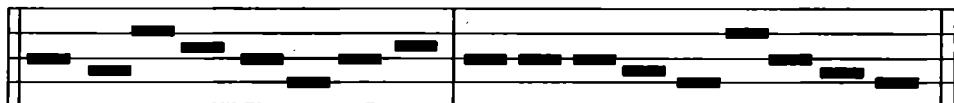
(AmCz) [*tadi | fʔopxoje | u jeli:ŋkux*] “Here in the shop at Jelíneks”



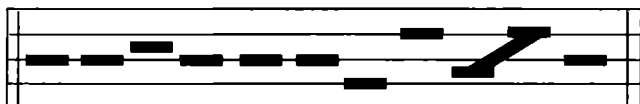
(StCz) [*tadi fʔopxoje u jeli:ŋku:*] Tady v obchodě u Jelínků



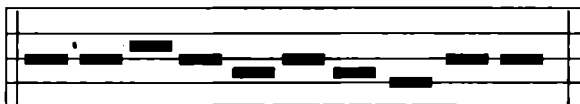
(AmCz) [*ale dis sem bila mala: | tak sem jenom mluvila tʃeski*] “But when I was a little girl I only spoke Czech”



(StCz) [ale gdiš jsem bila mala:| tak jsem mluvila jenom tšeski] Ale když jsem byla malá, tak jsem mluvila jenom česky



(AmCz) [ma:me nejaki tšeski zna:mi: a ...] “We have some Czech well-knowns and ...”



(StCz) [ma:me nejake: tšeske: zna:me: a ...] Máme nějaké české známé a ...

In a simple indicative sentence, we can meet anticadence in American Czech, whereas we meet concluding cadence in Standard Czech; in an introductory clause of a complex sentence, we may take as a typical distinctive feature of American Czech a falling–rising cadence intonation vs. rising intonation in Standard Czech. The realisation of the whole cadence within a single monosyllabic word at the end of a sentence belongs among the most striking distinctive features of American Czech. All this follows from the basically different structure of English (an analytical type of language with relatively frequent monosyllabic words, free stress, etc.) from that of Czech (an inflexional type of language with not so many monosyllabic words, fixed protosyllabic stress, etc.).

8.2. Word-formation

(1) The surnames of women, which are formed from the husband’s or the father’s surname or from a common noun, are maintained unchanged in American Czech and are not inflected, e.g. AmCz [libi kutšeja], StCz [libuše kutšerova:] Libuše Kučerová, AmCz [džudi ba:], StCz [jitka ba:rova:] Jitka Bárová, AmCz (to, on, with ...) [libi kutšeja], StCz (k ...) [libuši kutšerove: ...] Libuši Kučerové ... (this is also the manifestation of the decline of the inflectional declension of nouns).

(2) Similarly, there is no change in the names of older women, either in the way they are addressed or in how they are called. They are usually preceded by the borrowed polite noun attributes Mrs. [misis] or Miss [mis]. The first form is used, as a rule, with surnames: [misis kutšeja], StCz [papi: kutšerova:] paní Kučerová, etc., the other form, according to circumstances, is used with sur-

names or Christian names: [*mis kutʃe.ɹa*] // [*mis libi*], StCz [sletʃna kutʃerova:] // [sletʃna libuʃe] slečna Kučerová // slečna Libuše, etc. The expressions Mrs., Miss are often used in American Czech in introductions, even when introducing oneself: [*to je mis kutʃe.ɹa*] “This is Miss Kučera”, [*moje meno je mis kutʃe.ɹa*] “My name is Miss Kučera”, etc., cf. StCz [to je sletʃna kutʃerova:] To je slečna Kučerová, [ja: jsem kutʃerova:] Já jsem Kučerová, etc.

(3) American English familiar names of men and women penetrate into isolated US Czech as soon as the first immigrant generation, and from the second generation onward there is almost a consistent use of them. The characteristic suffix here is *-i*, e.g. [*tʃa:ɹli*] Charlie, [*dʒani*] Jonny, [*dʒe.ɹi*] Jerry, [*toʊni*] Tony ..., [*dʒudi*] Judy, [*lutsi*] Lucy, [*ɹo:zi*] Rosie, [*tɹu:di*] Trudy ... These are forms mostly unknown in Standard Czech.

However, I do not want to claim here that the Czech forms of Christian names do not appear at all in later immigrant generations of American Czechs. I just wanted to say that, in preserving the Czech forms of names, language maintenance is generally felt to be relevant only by the first immigrant generation. This is a question of the actual choice of Christian name (which necessarily occurs in the following generations), i.e. to what extent the chosen name corresponds to general usage among European Czechs, those in Czech Republic, or the extent to which it deviates from it and approaches the language usage of the new environment. The basic distinguishing criterion here shall be the presence or absence of the given American Czech name in base Czech. (Cf. Vašek 1988a, 1989.)

(4) American English borrowed verbs are formed by adding a stem-forming morpheme *-ova-*, e.g. [*d.ɹajvovat*], StCz [ɹi:ɹit ʔauto], řídit auto “to drive”, [*kolektovat*], StCz [zbi:rat] sbírat “to collect”, [*ɹentovat*], StCz [najmoût] najmout “to rent”, etc.

8.3. Morphology

(1) Gradual loss of the original, base Czech nominal declension. Whereas the nominative form mostly remains unchanged, the other forms of the paradigm in indigenous expressions and older borrowings have gradually been losing their validity, have been interchanged or have disappeared; new borrowings have not received other paradigmatic forms. This weakening of the validity of case morphemes has been accompanied by the similar development of grammatical gender and number in nouns. E.g.

AmCz [*bil jinej vzdux pʃed d.ɹuhoʊ svjetovi va:lku*] “The atmosphere before World War II was different”, StCz [pʃed druhoʊ svjetovoʊ va:lkoʊ bila jina: atmosfɛ:ra] Před druhou světovou válkou byla jiná atmosféra – here, e.g., the basic nominative form of the adjective/attribute [*svjetovi*] *m. sg.* “world”, “world’s” remains unchanged in a sentence context, and the accusative form of the noun [*va:lku*] was used instead of the correct form in instrumental, all this with syntactical consequences: the lack of grammatical concord in adverbial of time.

AmCz [*ma:m koʊdeg dvoje*] “I have two kodaks”; StCz [ma:m dva kodaki] Mám dva kodaky – here, the noun [*koʊdeg*] in singular did not receive the

needed plural paradigmatic form and the cardinal numeral was replaced by the numeral denoting the number or variety of types [*dvoje*].

(2) Retreat of the differentiation of aspect in verbs; e.g.

AmCz [*poznali jeden d.řuhimu*] “They new each other”; StCz [znali jeden druřie:řio] Znali jeden druhého – here, the form of perfective verbal aspect [*poznali*] “they learnt” replaced the correct imperfective form znali “they knew”; moreover, there is a lack of grammatical rection in direct object: the correct form, accusative case, was replaced by the substandard dative [*d.řuhimu*].

AmCz [*ja sem řel řti.ři leta do kalitř*] “I was at college for four years”; StCz [xořil jsem řři.ři le:ta na visokoř řkolu] Chodil jsem řtyři řeta na vysokou řkolu – here, the application of the imperfective verb form [*řel*] instead of the iterative form as a correct form denoting a regularly repeated action through the following of AmE ‘I went’ which is in this respect of the same validity, namely iterative.

(3) In speakers whose Czech shows traces of strong heterolinguistic impact there is a tendency towards the formation of an indefinite article, e.g. [*a tam přifel jeden řkof*] “And there came a pole-cat”; StCz [a přifel tam řxoř] A přifel tam řchoř – here, the indeterminate character of the noun [*řkof*] which in StCz remains unexpressed – unless there is a special reason for some change – receives a formal designation [*jeden*] “one” through the mechanical imitation of the AmE indefinite article *a*.

8.4. Syntax

(1) Weakening awareness of the meaning of prepositions, which causes their interchange or omission, e.g.

a) AmCz [*on bježi ř kuxi.řim dveřim*] “He is running to the kitchen door”, StCz [bježi: ke dveři:m do kuxi.ře] Běži ke dveřim do kuchyně – here, the AmCz preposition *v* [*ř*] “in”, “at”, “on” governing accusative and locative is used instead of the correct StCz preposition *ke* “to”, “towards” governing the dative case.

b) AmCz [... *si vo.ři: b.řali: mena:* (length caused by intonation) *s řřeha:x*], StCz [...dosta:vali (řva:) jme:na ř řřeha:x] ...dostávali (řvá) jměna *v* řěchách – here, the AmCz preposition *s* [*ř*] “with” governing instrumental is used instead of the correct StCz preposition *v* [*ř*] “in”, “at”, “on” governing locative.

c) AmCz [*tadi za řix řřomax*] “over here behind these trees”, StCz [zde za řemito řtomi] zde *za* řemito řtomy – here, the AmCz preposition *za* [*za*] “behind” governing accusative and instrumental in StCz is followed by the construction of the demonstrative pronoun [*řix*] and the noun [*řřomax*], both in dialectal locative (obviously imitating the construction with the preposition *na* “on” governing the locative case in StCz) instead of correct forms, viz. in the instrumental case.

d) AmCz [*ř kuxařkix křix*] “in cookery books”, StCz [ř kuxařski:x křiřa:x] *v* kuchařských knihách – here, the AmCz preposition *v* [*ř*] is followed by the

genitiv construction of the adjective [*kuxařkix*] and the noun [*křnix*] instead of the correct StCz form in locative.

e) AmCz [*liji uf mluvi na to*] “People already talk about it”, StCz [*již o tom mluvi: lide:*] Již o tom mluví lidé – here, the AmCz preposition *na* [*na*] “on” governing accusative or locative in StCz is used instead of the correct StCz preposition *o* “on”, “about” governing locative because of the bisemantic character of the AmE preposition ‘on’ as a common equivalent of the two Czech prepositions: *na* and *o*.

(1.1.) Consistent replacement of the base Czech prepositional construction with temporal *před*, which governs instrumental and is located in front of the determined noun phrase, by a calquing of the American construction with the postponed determinative adverb ‘back’ which in its turn represents the AmE continuation of the parallel English construction with the adverb ‘ago’, e.g.

AmCz [*pjet let spa:tki*] “five years ago”, StCz [*přet pjeci leti*] před pěti lety, cf. American English ‘five years back’, (European) English ‘five years ago’.

(2) Use of the co-ordinating causal conjunction [*přoto*] “that is why”, “therefore”, “for that reason” or of the borrowed [*bikos*] “because” instead of the base Czech subordinating causal conjunction *protože* “because”, e.g.

AmCz [*vim to přoto dis si kouřnu do řek;t to vijim*] “I know it because when I look into a record I can see it”, StCz [*vi:m to protože kdyř nahle:dnu do za:znamu: to viji:m*] Víím to, protože když nahlédnu do záznamů, to vidím.

(3) Imitation of sentence constructions and phrases, e.g.

AmCz [*voři da:vali řfeskoř řkolu*] “They gave Czech lessons”, “They taught Czech”, StCz [*viuřřovali řfeřřine*] Vyučovali čeřřině – here, the AmCz construction represents a literal translation of the first of the two AmE versions, whereas the StCz version is a foreign language parallel to the second, cf. infinitive [*viuřřovat*] “to teach”.

AmCz [*tadi bili hodře jix*] “There were a lot of them here”, “There were many here”, StCz [*bilo jiy zde mnořo*] Bylo jich zde mnoho – this example of a word-by-word translation of the first of the two AmE versions to AmCz caused the formal personalisation of the verb ([*bilo*] > [*bili*]) in both, the common Czech and the Standard Czech, impersonal single-element with the copula sentence construction *bylo jich zde hodně // bylo jich zde mnoho* “there were many here” respectively.

AmCz [*tak to je přotř ja xtsi utetř vot:ařc*] “Well, that is why I want to run away from here”, StCz [*tak proto xtsi otsut řute:tsi*] Tak proto chce odsud utěci – an example of a literal translation of AmE ‘that is why’ to AmCz [*to je přotř*] instead of substandard/common Czech as well as Standard Czech adv./conj. *proto* “that is why”, “therefore”, “for that reason”.

AmCz [*von musi vzit ten egzem*] “he must take that examination”, StCz [(on) musi: skla:dat tu skouřřku] (on) musí skládat tu zkouřřku – here, the AmCz sentence is another example of the word-by-word translation following the AmE model.

AmCz [*ja: sem fu:ɔ*] “I am sure”, StCz [*jsem presvjettʃen*] Jsem přesvědčen // [*jsem si jist*] Jsem si jist – here, the AmCz idiom contains a predicative [*fu:ɔ*] as a loan-word from AmE. In StCz there is of course a home expression applied, jist, přesvědčen “certain”.

8.5. Lexicon

The influence of the new linguistic environment on American Czech is most visible in lexicon. Borrowings are abundant already in the first generation of immigrants. They are most frequently words with the so-called lexical meaning, nouns being most common. Prepositions are taken over only with their nouns, pronouns always with their verbs, in the latter case only when forming a part of affirmative expressions, e.g. [*aj si:ɔ*] “I see”, [*ju bet*] “you bet”, [*ju noʊ*] “you know”. Here are some examples:

AmCz [*banda*] f. “band” (as for the form, it follows the model of standard/common Czech noun [*banda*] f. banda “gang”), StCz [*kapela*] f. kapela.

AmCz [*habi*] m. indecl. “hobby”, StCz [*koɲi:tʃek*] m. koníček.

AmCz [*ka:ɔa*] f. “car”, StCz [*auto*] n. auto “car” vs. [*ka:ra*] f. kára “push-cart”.

AmCz [*ko:ɲa*] f. “maize” (AmE ‘corn’), StCz [*kukuɽitse*] f. kukuřice.

AmCz [*majo:ɔ*] m. “mayor”, StCz [*starosta*] m. starosta “mayor” vs. [*major*] m. major “army officer between a captain and a colonel” (the destiny of the latter notion in AmCz has not been studied).

AmCz [*piɲkovi:*] adj. “pink”, StCz [*ru:ɔovi:*] adj. růžový.

AmCz [*se:ɽovat*] vb. “to serve”, StCz [*sloʊžit*] vb. sloužit.

8.5.1. When studying the present-day US Czech in an all-country extent and range, it is easy to find that its structure has also been influenced by **other languages** besides US English. A comparison between the contemporary base Czech (i.e. the present-day Czech in Czech Republic, L_1) and contemporary isolated AmCz (L_2) enables to distinguish between borrowed phenomena that exist in both diasystems (L_1, L_2) from those borrowings that exist only in isolated US Czech (L_2). The former could have been embodied into isolated Czech in the same way as its borrowings from English, which equally show the $L_1//L_2$ distribution.

English loanwords that exist both in L_1 -Czech and L_2 -Czech, e.g., expressions of sports terminology, which had been borrowed into Czech at various periods entered American Czech via base Czech or sometimes even directly, becoming established more or less simultaneously in the USA and Europe as names of new phenomena.

Such expressions are now also part of the system of American Czech and have their place in a detailed study, but synchronically they do not represent a specific feature of this system and they are not dealt with in this article. – The latter phenomena found their way into Czech only in the United States and constitute a specific feature of isolated US Czech. Judging from my observation,

US Czech seems to have received all these specific elements indirectly, through North American English.

Cf. expressions like

AmCz [*kindʒa:ʒn*] m. indecl. "kindergarten" (ultimately from German *Kindergarten* m.), StCz [*ʃkolka*] *školka* f. vs. AmCz [*fiʒhoŋki*] m.pl.t. // [*fiʒhaŋki*] m.pl.t. "curtain", which came into isolated AmCz through base Czech (cf. the present state of everyday spoken Czech [*firhaŋ(e)k*] // [*firhaŋk*] m., pl.: [*firhaŋki*] // [*firhaŋki*]), where it was a borrowing from European German (cf. StG [*forhaŋk*] *Vorhang* m. "curtain").

9. Future Prospects

We stated earlier that an emergence of an isolated language and a language acculturation in an immigrant in new linguistic and cultural environment presupposes the triad of linguistic communication – language contact – language conflict. Thus, language conflict presupposes language contact in the true meaning of the word; language contact presupposes linguistic communication, which, in its turn, presupposes that the immigrant is bilingual to a certain degree, at least passively, i.e. that he/she can understand the message communicated by his/her interlocutor. This is equally true of the Czech immigrants to the USA.

It is difficult to say what these first steps in the process of a settler's linguistic acculturation was like in the case of the first Czech immigrants, for example Heřman. We do not know if they understood English or if they were able to communicate directly in English with English-speaking Americans, or whether they communicated with them in Dutch, or whether they used their Dutch friends with whom they had apparently arrived to the USA as intermediaries, interpreters. An answer to this question cannot be given until new evidence from the period of early Czech immigration to the United States has been discovered. In any case, an initial minimum bilingualism must be assumed. In the course of a settler's life in America, his/her language identification centre gradually shifted from language A (i.e. the initial European idiom, base Czech) to language B (that is to the dominant language in the new environment, American English). The time this shift took place differed from case to case and depended on the given entirety of language development factors, always existing in their characteristic form and unrepeatable grouping (see above in footnote 10), but it probably occurred in most cases already in the second immigrant generation, that is in persons born already in the new country.

9.1. It should be noted that the language shift in the second generation is not always the rule. Settlers in minority colonies speaking a non-omnifunctional isolated language (e.g. the Czech immigrants in the USA) represent only *one* type of linguistic acculturation, even if it is one of the main types. It covers all non-omnifunctional isolated languages, unless these languages fulfil the function of an idiom of country-wide official communication, used by its speakers

outside their own national language territory: such languages are phenomenon *sui generis*, e.g. the Russian language in non-Russian parts of the former USSR, Hindi in the south of India, etc. (see above in § 6). While the complex of developmental factors is effective also in them, the predominant aspects are the extralingual factor of the language policy of the particular country on the one hand, and the acceptance of this isolated language by members of the local nation or nationality on the other.¹¹

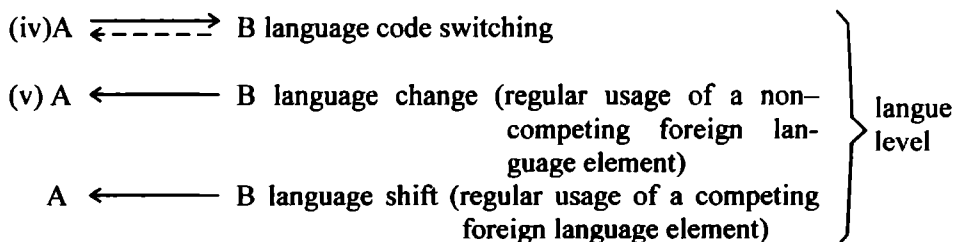
The other main type of the process of language acculturation is connected with large, extensive and clearly majority colonizations, because the isolated languages in question are, from the communication point of view, (nearly) omnifunctional in the new environment, and their trend of development shows an increase; here belong, e.g. American English, American Spanish, Canadian French, etc. However, it is also possible that the language of even large, distinctly majority colonizations may sometimes disappear in a foreign language ambience (seen from the point of view of the newcomers, colonists), helped along by animosity of aborigines to the colonists. Cf. the Normans in Britain after 1066 AD, the Bulgarians coming from the East, etc.

9.2. As claimed above, the speed with which the final stage of an acculturation process (i.e. monolingualism A > bilingualism AB > monolingualism B) comes is by far not always the same. If, however, one disregards the existence of different immigrant generations and limits himself or herself to the present state of isolated language in contemporary biological generations, one can easily note a rapid disappearance of isolated American Czech. It seems that *in some two generations from now the old Czech colonizations in the USA will be assimilated and their language acculturation essentially completed.*

Language acculturation in speakers of minority isolated languages

- (i) A \longleftrightarrow B language communication – language contact – language conflict
- (ii) A \longleftrightarrow B language influence vs. language maintenance
- (iii) A $\overset{\leftarrow}{\dashrightarrow}$ B language penetration (ad hoc usage of a non-competing foreign language element)
- A $\overset{\leftarrow}{\dashrightarrow}$ B language interference (ad hoc usage of a competing foreign language element)
- } parole level

¹¹ According to oral information of an American scholar in Lawrence, Kansas, in 1971, the inner resistance of Amerindians to the Spanish had been so forceful that it led to non-using of Spanish at all which in its consequences caused the absence of any kind of collective (Indian-Spanish) bilingualism.



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O JAZYKOVÉ AKULTURACI AMERICKÝCH ČECHŮ

Jazykovou akulturací rozumím jazykovou konverzi mluvčího v příslušníka jazyka komunikačně dominantního v imigrantově novém životním prostředí. Její vznik předpokládá uskutečnění triptychu a) j. komunikace – b) j. kontakt – c) j. konflikt. Přitom *c* předpokládá *b* a *b* předpokládá *a* (a toto *a* zase alespoň pasivní bilingvismus účastníka komunikace). Po vzniku j. konfliktu začínou na sebe kontaktní jazyky působit (tedy nikoli nutně hned po imigrantově příchodu do nového prostředí) a tato doba je případ od případu různě dlouhá. Velikost j. konfliktu je přímo úměrná typologické rozdílnosti kontaktních struktur, jeho řešení pak dáno jednak jejich vzájemným působením (s možnými asimilačními důsledky), jednak jazykovou maintainanci každé z nich. Kritika obecné platnosti Fishmanova zrcadlového obrazu fungování těchto dvou dominant.

Zjevnost procesu ztráty původní etnické a kulturní identity u minoritních imigrantů a rychlost j. změny/j. šifru jako konečného stadia jejich akulturačního procesu; specifická postavení izolovaného jazyka, je-li zároveň jazykem úředního styku dané země: do popředí pak vystupuje jednak faktor jazykové politiky daného státu, jednak způsob přijímání tohoto izolovaného jazyka přísluš-

níky místního etnika. (Důsledky možné animozity; srov. Normané v Anglii po r. 1066, z východu příšlí Bulhaři na území dnešního Bulharska aj.)

Potenciální strukturální heterogennost počátečního stadia izolovaného jazyka odráží původní teritoriální a sociální rozdíly přistěhovalců. Tyto obměny někdejšího společného bazového jazyka se chovají navzájem jako blízce příbuzné jazyky, svými mluvčími pojímané a zachovávané jako nekodifikovaná, avšak závazná norma. Přejímají prvky od sebe navzájem a sblížují se, ovšem nikoli ve směru původního, bazového spisovného jazyka, nýbrž jazyka úředního styku nového prostředí, ať již je bezprostřední pramen jeho prvků přímý nebo nepřímý.

Počátky akulturace nezdědka zatím stanovit nedovedeme, neboť neznáme celý vývojový proces, nýbrž pouze jeho dnešní výsledný stav. Často jen víme, že přesun identifikačního jazykového těžiště imigranta od původního monolingvismu A přes bilingvismus AB k novému monolingvismu B byl v různých případech různý, vždy závislý na fungování vnitřně spjaté trojice vývojových jazykových faktorů (intralingvních, interlingvních a extralingvních).

Studie přináší stručný demografický pohled na historii české emigrace do Spojených států, pojednává o vzniku izolovaného jazyka a jeho nejranějším vývoji, dokládáje svá tvrzení porovnáním češtiny americké s podstatně odlišnou izolovanou moravskou češtinou podílející se na trilingvismu až pentalingvismu rumunského Banátu, a především výběrově uvádí celostátně rozšířené prvky am. angličtiny všech jazykových rovin v izolované am. češtině; schema jazykové akulturace mluvčích minoritních izolovaných jazyků stať uzavírá.

Se zřením k dosavadnímu vývojovému trendu původního jazyka Čechoameričanů se jeví jako pravděpodobné, že za dvě další generace bude jazyková akulturace Čechů v USA v podstatě dokončena.

